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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

NINA FLETCHER LITTLE, author, collector, lecturer in the field of early American painting whose monograph on Winthrop Chandler appeared in the April, 1947 issue of *ART IN AMERICA*. She has in preparation a book on early American landscape panels and other decorative painting.

JOHN MARSHALL PHILLIPS — Director of Yale University Art Gallery, Curator of the Mabel Brady Garvan Collection of Americana, Professor of History of Art at Yale University, has specialized in the fields of American silver and painting.

THEODORE SIZER, Professor of the History of Art and former Director of the Yale University Art Gallery, is engaged in writing the life of Col. John Trumbull, the "Patriot-Artist," and compiling a check list of his vast and varied work: historical, religious, mythological, literary and allegorical subjects, portraits, landscapes, maps, architectural studies, designs for Indian peace medals, sketches and life drawings — about a thousand items, owned by some two hundred individuals and institutions.

THIS ISSUE, devoted to three articles concerned with early Connecticut painters and paintings, has been prepared under the guest-editorship of John Marshall Phillips. The Yale University Art Gallery will hold an exhibition related to some of the contents of the issue from October 7th to November 20th.

— J. L.



ART IN AMERICA

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Entered as second-class matter April 28, 1936, at the post office at Springfield, Mass., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Ralph Earl, Loyalist

By JOHN MARSHALL PHILLIPS
Yale University

RECENT research in the unpublished manuscript material in the collections of the Public Record Office, London, presents one of Connecticut's more colorful 18th century limners, Ralph Earl, in a new light and confirms the statement made in the *Gates Genealogy* (1898) that Earl "was a Tory and skedaddled leaving her (Sarah Gates Earl, his wife and cousin) behind."

Earl's petition, written in his fine hand, and printed here for the first time, establishes the date, motive and manner of his departure for England, and is to be found in the *American Loyalist Claims Series II* (A. O. 13 Bundle 41):

To The Right Honble The Lords
Commissioners of the Treasury.

The Humble Petition of Ralph Earl late an Inhabitant
of the Province of Connecticut.

Humbly sheweth.

That Your Petitioners Father is a Colonel in the Rebel Service and Your Petitioner refusing to accept a Commission in his Reg^t. was turned out and obliged to seek support among the Friends of Government and was thereby not only deprived of a very genteel Maintenance which he enjoyed under his Father, but at the same Time forfeited all hopes of enjoying a very good Estate which he is entitled to on the Death of his Father.

That Your Petitioner for his Loyalty and Attachm^t. to the Friends of Governm^t was in October 1776 compelled to appear before a Committee (called the Committee of Safety) assembled at Newhaven who demanded of Your Petitioner to accept a Commission in the Rebel Army when he again refused. Whereupon the Committee, sentenced him, immediately to quit the Province or go to prison, when he chose to quit the Province but at that Time only retired to a remote part of the Province where he took Refuge among the Friends of Governm^t.

That Your Petitioner with Five others in the Month of March 1777 getting private Intelligence of the Rebel Armys Intention of making a Descent on Long Island the following Night, immediately dispatched a person (on whom they could depend) in a Boat to that Place being about Thirty Miles who apprised the British Soldiers of the intended Visit by the Rebels the same Night. Whereupon they were immediately put in such a Posture of Defence as to preserve themselves, repulse the Enemy, and

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prevent much Bloodshed and Plunder which inevitably would have been the Case had no such Information been given.

That your Petitioner with Six others in April following were apprehended and taken into Custody by Virtue of a warrant issued from the above Committee when Your Petitioner was again had before the said Committee and reexamined as touching his Principles and requested to take up Arms against the Kings Troops but still refused And your Petitioner verily believes (had it not been through the respect which they paid his Father as an Officer of high Rank in their Army) he should certainly have received sentence of Death as they were suspicious of his corresponding with the British Officers. However they again insisted of his being confined in prison or immediately quitting the Province which he did, altho' he was thereby deprived of Property to a considerable amount.

That as Your Petitioner was well known to be an Enemy to the Rebel Cause he found it impossible much longer to escape punishment and therefore was determined to embrace the first Opportunity he should meet with to embark for England.

That Your Petitioner having very fortunately met with Captⁿ Money Q^r. Master Gen^l. of the Northern Army and having given him every Information of the State of that Country he could desire, He had the goodness to disguise him as a Servant and bring him from Providence to Newport in a Flag of Truce and from thence to England where they arrived in April last.

That Your Petitioner has by the assistance of a well disposed Friend or Two ever since been supported (as he was very desirous not to have troubled Your Lordships) was in hopes to have supported himself until the present Contest with the Colonies had subsided but now finds it impossible to subsist longer in the manner he has thus far done, being reduced to the utmost Distress. or would by no means have troubled Your Lordships.

Therefore Your Petitioner humbly requests that Your Lordships will consider the Hardships under which Your Petitioner now Labors and grant unto him such Relief and Support as the present Necessity of his Case requires and as to Your Lordships shall seem meet.

And Your Petit^r. (as in Duty bound) shall ever pray etc.

Jan. 28. 1779

It is a Duty I owe to Justice that I inform your Lordships that such part of this petition as concerns me is strictly true. I found him a persecuted Man in the province of Connecticut & his life in Danger & at the Request of the Friends of Government assisted him in making his Escape I was frequently Assured that this Gentleman saved a party of the Kings Troops from being

cut off from the East end of Long Island
but sending them Timely information.

I believe M^r. Earl to be now in
great Distress.

I. Money
Q^r. M^r. Gen^l to
Gen^l. Burgoynes
Army

Rec. 6 Feb. 1779

Unfortunately the surviving manuscript books of American Royalist Claims Series I, A. O. 12, containing digests of the cases with the Commissioner's recommended action do not include Earl's case, which hinges upon this single surviving document.



TRUMBULL: SELF-PORTRAIT. 1777
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

John Trumbull, Colonial Limner

By THEODORE SIZER
Yale University

WHERE are those early pictures which Trumbull, the "Patriot Painter," published in his *Autobiography* — the "list of drawings and pictures before (his) first voyage to Europe (in May 1780), and before (he) had any other instruction than was obtained from books"? The question has plagued me for years. Only recently have I had the opportunity to address myself to the problem. The inconclusive results are herein set forth.

The artist wrote his life between the years 1837 and 1840 at New Haven, at the suggestion of his celebrated nephew-in-law, Professor Benjamin Silliman, the Yale scientist, at whose home he was then living. It was published simultaneously at London, New York and New Haven in 1841, when the angry author was eighty-five years old. He was bitter over the account of his life which had appeared in 1834 in the *Arts of Design* by William Dunlap, a former fellow student at Benjamin West's hospitable London studio. The dissolution of the American Academy of Fine Arts, of which he had long been president, and the corresponding success of the National Academy of Design was a mortifying memory. The competition of the younger and abler men, the loss of prestige and of income weighed heavily upon his spirits. His fading military glory and his position in the art world were in need of refurbishing. The *Autobiography*, consequently, is a defensive, self-justifying document. It is not entirely accurate — embittered octogenarians seldom are. Both the record of his early work and that of his long life suffer. The former was based upon a list prepared in 1789 (see the author's "An Early Check List of the Paintings of John Trumbull," *Yale University Library Gazette*, XXII, 1948, pp. 116-123), which in turn, was "copied from an early book which was ruined by damp." The list appearing in the *Autobiography* (pp. 59-66), granted it was prepared by the artist himself, is not complete. The querulous old gentleman simply forgot.

The point about his instruction being entirely derived "from books," too, is not entirely accurate. He made intelligent use of books, to be sure, especially those containing pictures, such as the *Gentleman's Magazine*, at home and at Cambridge. There is still preserved at the Harvard College Library the record of books he withdrew as an undergraduate — Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*, Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, Kirby's



COPLEY: NICHOLAS BOYLSTON. 1772/1773
Courtesy of Harvard University

Perspective, de Piles' *Cour de Peinture par Principes*, and so on. Other than these and prints, especially Piranesi's, the fifteen to sixteen year old student (who entered Harvard in the middle of his junior year), had a further source of pictorial satisfaction in the portraits of Copley.

Before he went to college he had begged his father to place him "under the instruction of Mr. Copley, then living in Boston, and whose reputation as an artist was deservedly high," arguing that "the expense would probably not exceed that of a college education." But his father, who "had not the same veneration for the fine arts," as he, would have none of it. He was, however, partially recompensed by being able to study the portraits by that master in the Harvard halls. These were, in 1773, those of President Holyoke (which he copied), Thomas Hancock, Thomas Hollis, Thomas Hubbard and Nicholas Boylston. The last made the greatest impression as can be observed by comparing it with the double portrait of his parents, now at the Connecticut Historical Society, the Rev. Joseph Buckminster at Yale (formerly ascribed to Ralph Earl), the two portraits of his eldest brother, Joseph Trumbull, at Hartford and Plymouth, and the self-portrait of 1777 at Boston. In this last it will be noted that his palette, symbol of his profession, rests upon a volume labelled "Hogarth" — the *Analysis of Beauty*. The handling, attitude, drapery, setting, and even such tricks as the reflection of objects on highly polished mahogany surfaces, in all these early portraits are obviously derived from the work of the older man. Though there was no one to teach him, Copley's work was conveniently available.

The nimble-minded Harvard graduate also studied pictures of a totally different character, the late John Smibert's copies of paintings by the Old Masters, which he found in his vacant painting room at Boston, which he rented after his resignation from the Army. In spite of his indignant letter of resignation of his military commission sent to John Hancock, as President of the Continental Congress, that forgiving statesman permitted the overbearing ex-colonel to copy his new portrait of Gen. Washington by C. W. Peale as well as his European pictures at his Boston home.

But books, prints, Copley's originals, Smibert's copies, Hancock's pictures did not suffice. Consumed by the desire for artistic advancement the ambitious painter, the late rebel officer, sailed for England in the midst of the Revolutionary War. When he returned upon the completion of his studies both actor and stage had changed. The homespun Colonial had become a polished painter and the British colonies united states.



TRUMBULL: THE ARTIST'S PARENTS. 1778
Courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society

I

List of work executed in New England before 1780 from the *Autobiography*. Items located are indicated by an asterisk.

DONE WHEN A SCHOOL BOY AT LEBANON, CONNECTICUT, BEFORE
 THE END OF 1771.

1. "A head of GENERAL WOLFE, from an engraving in the *Gentleman's Magazine*"; source mistaken. Unlocated.
2. "FIRE-WORKS IN LONDON, on the occasion of the peace of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748; copied in India ink, from an engraving. A.D. 1770, aetat. 14"; engravings noted in *Rariosa*, collected by John Eliot Hodgkin, Vol. III, 1900, p. 71, nos. 113-124; 1789 list: "given to my brother Jonathan" Trumbull, Junior. Unlocated.
- 3.* "VIEW OF PART OF THE CITY OF ROME"; pen and water color; 1789 list: "in the Family"; presented by Maria Trumbull Dana of New Haven, Conn., to Yale University, No. 1928.26. (The earliest surviving work of the artist in any medium).

4. "THE VIRGINIA WATER, IN WINDSOR PARK"; 1789 list: "to Mrs. Williams," Mary Trumbull, the artist's sister, Mrs. William Williams of Lebanon. Unlocated.
5. "THE CRUCIFIXION OF OUR SAVIOUR"; 1789 list: "in the family." Unlocated.
6. "THE FAMILY ARMS — first attempt in oil colors — age 15"; 1789 list: "my bror. Jonathan at Cambridge College," Jonathan Trumbull, Junior, Harvard 1759, like his father, Governor of Connecticut. Unlocated.
7. "RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN, &c., PALMYRA, from an engraving in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, (XXIV, opp. p. 109, 1754); given to Master Tisdale"; Nathan Tisdale, Harvard 1749, school teacher at Lebanon. Unlocated.

DONE WHEN AN UNDERGRADUATE AT HARVARD AT CAMBRIDGE,
MASSACHUSETTS, 1772-1773.

8. "THE CRUCIFIXION, in water colors, from a print by Rubens"; 1789 list: "given to my Sister Huntington," Faith Trumbull, Mrs. Jedediah Huntington of Norwich, Conn. Unlocated.
9. "Portrait of DR. AND PRESIDENT HOLYOKE, from one of Mr. Copley's pictures; given to Mrs. Kneeland, his daughter"; Elizabeth Holyoke, daughter of the Rev. Edward Holyoke, tenth president of Harvard College and wife of William Kneeland, Harvard 1757, former Tutor, at whose house Trumbull lived as an undergraduate. (J. S. Copley's portrait, painted about 1760, hangs in University Hall, Harvard.) Unlocated.
- 10 to 15. "Six small PORTRAITS OF EMINENT MEN, Newton, Locke, &c. &c; given to Isaiah Doane," (1753-1805), of Boston, Harvard 1774, who was in the class below the artist. None located.
16. "BRITANNIA, in India ink; given to Theo. Parsons"; (d. 1779), of Boston, Harvard 1773, the artist's classmate. Unlocated.
17. "ERUPTION OF MOUNT VESUVIUS, small, water colors, on vellum; copied from the Italian picture in the philosophical lecture room, given to Professor Winthrop"; John Winthrop, Harvard 1732, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, when the artist was an undergraduate. Unlocated.
18. "The same (MOUNT VESUVIUS) in oil, size of the original"; 1789 list: "in the Family." Unlocated.
19. "Miniature of RUBENS; given to Mr. F. Borland"; Francis Borland (d. 1826), of Boston, Harvard 1774. Unlocated.
- 20.* "ABRAHAM'S SERVANT MEETING REBEKAH AT THE WELL, SURROUNDED BY HER DAMSELS; copied in oil from an engraving after the picture by Noel Coypel, in the library of Harvard College, same size as the engraving; in the possession of Daniel Wadsworth, Esq., of Hartford," the founder of the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.; 1789 list: "afterwards Sold to my brother Jonathan for Ten Dollars." Owned by Mrs. John DeForest Haskell, Wakefield, Nebraska.

DONE AT LEBANON, 1774, AFTER GRADUATING FROM HARVARD

- 21.* "DEATH OF PAULUS EMILIUS AT THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ, my first attempt at composition, many figures; done at Lebanon in oil, 1774, age 18; now in the Gallery at New Haven." Yale, No. 1832.100.



TRUMBULL: REV. JOSEPH BUCKMINSTER. 1777/1779
Courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery

- 22.* "Portraits of MY FATHER AND MOTHER, heads in oval spaces, surrounded by ornamental work, from Houbraken's heads — Justice and Piety, &c.; in possession of Professor Silliman." Jonathan Trumbull, Senior, Colonial and Revolutionary Governor of Connecticut, and his wife, Faith Robinson. Owned by William B. Goodwin, Hartford, Conn.
23. "BRUTUS CONDEMNING HIS SONS — original design, at Lebanon, 1777 (*sic*); given to my eldest brother — perhaps at Windham, in the possession of the relatives of his wife, Miss Dyer"; 1789 list: "Sold to my brother Joseph — for Five Guineas, 1774." Joseph Trumbull, (d. 1778), first Commissary General of the Continental Forces, married Amelia Dyer in 1777. Unlocated.
24. "Portrait of MY BROTHER DAVID, a small whole length, standing in a landscape, 1777; in possession of his widow at Lebanon"; 1789 list: "half-length cloth upright, begun in 1774. & finished in 1777. — Sold to him for Ten Guineas." David Trumbull, (d. 1822), Assistant Commissary of the Continental Army, married Sarah Backus in 1778. Unlocated.
25. "CRUCIFIXION, a small single figure"; 1789 list: "in the Family." Unlocated.
- 26.* "Head of MYSELF, half size; given to my sister, the late Mrs. Williams," Mary Trumbull, Mrs. William Williams, (d. 1831), wife of the Signer. Owned by Dr. George E. McClellan, Woodstock, Conn.

DONE AT LEBANON, 1777, AFTER RETURNING FROM THE WAR

- 27.* "Portrait of MAJ. GEN. JABEZ HUNTINGTON of the militia, whole length, half size of life, 1777; possession of his family." 1789 list: "begun 16th April 1777, at the Age of 21. was paid for it (paper) — fifteen Gns." Owned by the Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Conn.
- 28.* "Portraits of MY BROTHER JONATHAN, HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER — group, heads size of life, 1777; in possession of Professor Silliman"; 1789 list: "in one piece, 4 feet by 3.2. begun April 21st, 1777 — paper £ 42 l.m." (i.e. lawful money). Jonathan Trumbull, Junior, Governor of Connecticut, his wife, Eunice Backus, and their daughter, Faith, later Mrs. Daniel Wadsworth of Hartford, Conn. Owned by Yale University, No. 1920.2.
- 29.* "Portrait of MYSELF; head size of life"; 1789 list: "July 1777 given to Miss Tyler." Owned by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, No. 29.791.
30. "BRUTUS AND HIS FRIENDS, AT THE DEATH OF LUCRETIA — half length, reversed; copied in part from a print by Domenico Cunego, after Gavin Hamilton, partly original, 1777; in possession of Peter Lanman, Esq., Norwich"; 1789 list: 3f. .4 in. by 4.2." Unlocated.
31. "ELISHA RESTORING THE SUNAMITE'S SON, (from II Kings) on a half length cloth; in possession of Joseph Trumbull, Esq., of Hartford"; 1789 list: "3.4 by 4.2 — Copied from a print done from Mr. West's picture, in the possession of Lord Grosvenor — begun in August 77." Unlocated.
32. "Portrait of ELISHA WILLIAMS, head the size of life"; 1789 list: "Head. £ 7. (paper)," (probably Col. Elisha Williams, 1717/1718-1784, of Weathersfield, Conn., Conn. Militia, Member of the Conn. General Assembly, son of Rev. Elisha Williams, 1694-1755, Rector of Yale College, or, posthumously, after John Smibert's portrait of ca. 1736 (now lost) of the Rector of Yale, which might have been at the house of his half-brother, Rev. Solomon Williams of

Lebanon, the father of William Williams, the artist's brother-in-law, or, less likely, of Rev. Elisha Scott Williams, 1757-1845, of East Hartford, Conn., and Boston, Mass., Congregational Minister, Army Chaplain at the Battle of Trenton.) Unlocated.

- 33.* "Portraits of MY PARENTS — group, size of life, on a half length cloth reversed; my father dressed in a black damask night gown; in possession of Joseph Trumbull, Esquire, Hartford"; 1789 list: "4. .2 by 3. .4 — sold to my brother for £ 42 (paper)." Jonathan Trumbull, Senior, and his wife, Faith Robinson. Owned by the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn., No. 72.
34. "Portrait of MAJOR ROGER ALDEN, small head — not bad"; 1789 list: "small — £ 5." Unlocated.
35. "Portrait of my sister-in-law, MRS. AMELIA TRUMBULL, widow of my eldest and favorite brother." Amelia Dyer, Mrs. Joseph Trumbull. Unlocated.
- 36.* "Portrait of JABEZ HUNTINGTON, JR."; grandson of Maj. Gen. Jabez Huntington. Owned by Yale University, No. 1938.272.

DONE AT BOSTON, 1778

- 37.* "Head of CARDINAL BENTIVOGLIO; copied from Smibert's copy of Vandyck's celebrated portrait in the Florence Gallery"; 1789 list: "Boston June 1778." Owned by Harvard University, No. H 24.
38. "Heads of two boys, (CHARLES AND JAMES 2D.) copied from Smibert's copy of Vandyck's beautiful picture." Unlocated.
39. "Head of DR. FRANKLIN — a fur cap — from a French print." (Possibly the 1777 engraving by Augustin de Saint-Aubin after Charles Nicolas Cochin.) Unlocated.
40. "Head of JAMES WILKINSON, small"; 1789 list: "Genl. Wilkinson — small — recd. £ 7." Unlocated.
41. "Head of MR. EDWARD GRAY, size of life"; 1789 list: "Recd. — £ 15." Unlocated.
42. "Head of MRS. EDWARD GRAY, size of life," possibly Mary Paddock Gray; 1789 list: "recd — £ 15 — paper." Unlocated.
43. "Head of MR. CUTLER, small." Unlocated.
44. "A NUN BY CANDLELIGHT; copy," probably after J. S. Copley's "Nun with Candle" or some European painting. Unlocated.
45. "THE CONTINENCE OF SCIPIO; copied with essential variations, from Mr. Smibert's copy of N. Poussin; at Mr. Wadsworth's, Hartford, in perfect preservation." The Smibert copy is in the Walker Gallery, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Unlocated.
- 46.* "ST. PAUL PREACHING AT ATHENS; a drawing in India ink," after an engraving. Owned by Fordham University, New York.
- 47.* "Half length portrait of WASHINGTON; copy from Peale," after the 1776 portrait by Charles Willson Peale, then at John Hancock's home in Boston and now in the Brooklyn Museum, No. 34.1178. Trumbull's copy was cut down, sometime in the past, to head size, (for years labelled "C. W. Peale" with a question mark. I am indebted to Charles Coleman Sellers, the Peale expert, for first suggesting this — now apparent — attribution). Owned by Yale University, No. 1870.2.

- 48.* "LANDSCAPE, from a print after Salvator Rosa; in the possession of Joseph Trumbull, at Hartford." Owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution, Jonathan Trumbull House, Lebanon, Conn. (Actually, quite unlike Rosa's style.)
49. "Head of RUBENS" } copied from pictures in possession of Gov. Hancock." Both
 50. "Head of VANDYCK" } unlocated.
51. "Portrait of MR. BEN CALL, — head size of life"; 1789 list: "merchant — recd. 5 Guineas." Unlocated.
- 52.* "Portrait of MY ELDEST BROTHER JOSEPH, *from memory*, after his death; half length, size of life." Joseph Trumbull died 23 July 1778. Probably the version owned by Mrs. John T. Roberts, Hartford, Conn. (See item 56.)

DONE AT LEBANON, 1778

- 53.* "COL. WM. WILLIAMS" }
 54.* "MRS. WILLIAMS, my sister" } heads."
- Both portraits owned by Dr. George E. McClellan, Woodstock, Conn.
55. "A MONK AT HIS DEVOTION, BY LAMPLIGHT; copy," source unknown; 1789 list: "a Religious at his devotions by candlelight." Unlocated.
- 56.* "Copy from No. 52. for my sister," replica of the JOSEPH TRUMBULL above, probably the version at Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, Mass.
57. "GEN. WASHINGTON, half length, from memory." Unlocated.
58. "A MADONNA; copy"; 1789 list: "¾ cloth." Unlocated.

DONE AT BOSTON, 1778

59. "MISS P. SHEAFFE," }
 60. "MISS A. SHEAFFE," } small heads, from life, on oval plates of copper; given
 61. "MISS S. APTHORP," } to Mrs. Sheaffe."
 62. "MYSELF," }
- "Polly," Margaret Sheaffe, later Mrs. John R. Livingston and her older sister, Ann Sheaffe, later Mrs. John Erving, daughters of William Sheaffe, Deputy Collector of Customs at Boston. S (for Susan?) Apthorp and self portrait. All unlocated.
63. "BELISARIUS, *date obolem*, the principal figure copied from Strange's engraving, after Salvator Rosa; several Roman soldiers, ruins, &c. added, — on a half length cloth; in possession of Joseph Trumbull, Esq. at Hartford — good"; 1789 list: "40 by 50 inches." Unlocated.

DONE AT LEBANON, 1778

- 64.* "LANDSCAPE, sunset; composition, as companion for 48; possession of Joseph Trumbull, Esq. Hartford — not bad"; 1789 list: "¾ cloth — at Lebanon." Owned by Jonathan Trumbull Lanman, Junior, Cross River, near Katonah, N. Y. (Somewhat in the manner of Gaspar Dughet and of Claude Lorraine.)

DONE AT BOSTON, 1779

65. "Portrait of BENJ. HITCHBURN, half length — not bad," Col. Benjamin Hitchbourn (also Hichborn). Unlocated.

66. "Portrait of THOMAS DAWES, head — very respectable," (either Col. Thomas Dawes, b. 1733, Boston architect or his son, Thomas Dawes, 1757-1825, Harvard 1777, Massachusetts jurist). Unlocated.
67. "Head of ROYAL TYLER, with both hands — a respectable portrait," Royall Tyler, 1757-1826, jurist and playwright. Unlocated.
68. "THE DYING MOTHER AND INFANT, an abortive attempt at the celebrated Greek story, — the mother, mortally wounded, repelling the child from her bosom lest he should drink her blood"; 1789 list: "on half Length Cloth." Unlocated.

II

The following list of work unrecorded by the artist. Attributions based upon stylistic evidence alone are marked with a dagger.

PORTRAITS

1. †REV. JOSEPH BUCKMINSTER, D.D., three-quarters length, painted between 1777 and 1779 either at Lebanon, Conn. or Boston, Mass., formerly attributed to Ralph Earl. Owned by Yale University, No. 1864.1. (For the suggestion of this attribution I am indebted to my colleague, John Marshall Phillips.)
2. †DR. JOHN CLARK, physician, bust, painted about 1778 in Connecticut. Owned by Mrs. James B. Williams, 2nd, Longmeadow, Mass.
3. †MRS. JOHN (JERUSHA HUNTINGTON) CLARK, same as above.
4. †ELIPHALET DYER, Joseph Trumbull's father-in-law, jurist, Member of Congress from Connecticut, half-length, painted about 1777 at Windham or at Lebanon, Conn. Owned by the Windham Free Library Association, Windham, Conn.
5. REV. ABEL STILES, uncle of Ezra Stiles (President of Yale), Congregational minister of Woodstock, Conn., bust, painted about 1777 at Woodstock, Conn., (this and the following illustrated p. 93, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, *The History of Woodstock, Connecticut*, 1926.) Unlocated.
6. MRS. ABEL (ALETHEA ROBINSON) STILES, sister of Mrs. Jonathan (Faith Robinson) Trumbull, Senior, same as above.
7. JONATHAN TRUMBULL, SENIOR, the artist's father, painted in 1774 at Lebanon, Conn., (exhibited at the Slater Memorial Museum, Norwich, Conn., 1895, No. 22.) Unlocated.
8. —, bust, in oval frame with symbolic figures, painted in 1774 or 1775 at Lebanon, Conn. Owned by Yale University, No. 1832.102.
9. JONATHAN AND MRS. JONATHAN (FAITH ROBINSON) TRUMBULL, SENIOR, large double portrait, in ovals with symbolic figures, painted in 1774 at Lebanon, Conn., inscribed, signed and dated on back, also signed in front. (Similar to No. 22 listed in the *Autobiography*). Owned by the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, No. 103.
10. —, small double portrait, painted about 1778 at Lebanon. Owned by Dr. George E. McClellan, Woodstock, Conn.
11. —, same as above, though on wood. Deposited by Miss Elizabeth L. Anderson, New York, at Yale University, No. 20.1938.

12. —, same as above, also on wood. Owned by Mrs. John T. Roberts, Hartford, Conn.
13. JONATHAN TRUMBULL, JUNIOR, HIS WIFE AND CHILD, drawing, made in 1777 at Lebanon, Conn., for the group portrait, No. 28 in the *Autobiography* and Yale, No. 1920.2. (No. 55 in the 1st "Silliman Sale," Cat. No. 770, 1896 at Philadelphia). Unlocated.

CLASSICAL SUBJECTS

14. BRUTUS, (Caesar's assassin), on the back of an old door panel, probably painted in 1771 at Lebanon, Conn. Owned by the Wadsworth Atheneum, No. 1844.9. (The earliest surviving work in oils.)
15. †THE PARTING OF ULYSSES AND PENELOPE, probably painted in 1779 at Boston, Mass. Owned by Yale University, No. 1942.111.

RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS

16. "THY SON LIVETH," (from John 4), large oil, probably painted in 1779 at Boston, Mass. Owned by Mrs. John T. Roberts, Hartford, Conn.
17. ST. PAUL PREACHING AT ATHENS, probably similar to No. 46 of 1774, drawn in India ink in 1778 at Boston. Unlocated.

MAPS

18. Two maps of the COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, one unfinished, drawn at Lebanon in 1774 and in 1775, signed and dated. Owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society.
19. Three maps of BOSTON AND SURROUNDING MILITARY POSTS, drawn at Boston, September 1775. All unlocated.
20. FORTIFICATIONS AND DISPOSITION OF TROOPS AT TICONDEROGA, NEW YORK, drawn at Fort Ticonderoga in 1776. Owned by Hall Park McCullough, New York. (Possibly another — unlocated.)
21. TICONDEROGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, drawn at Fort Ticonderoga, August 1776. Unlocated.
22. MOUNT INDEPENDENCE AT TICONDEROGA, drawn with pen and water color at Fort Ticonderoga in 1776. Unlocated.

ARCHITECTURE

23. AN ANGLO-PALLADIAN VILLA, perspective view of exterior and plan, pen and ink, 1777, at Boston. New-York Historical Society.

(The writer would be most grateful were errors of omission and commission brought to his attention before his book, *A Check List of the Works of John Trumbull, Visual Recorder of the American Revolution*, Yale University Press, appears next spring. This book will be an amplification and correction of his "Tentative 'Short-Title' Check-List of the Work of Col. John Trumbull," *The Art Bulletin*, XXX, 1948, pp. 215-223 and pp. 260-269 and XXXI, 1949, pp. 21-37).

Some Eighteenth Century Connecticut Landscapes

"Either from Nature or Fancy"

By NINA FLETCHER LITTLE

Brookline, Massachusetts

WHEN the statement was made not long ago in ART IN AMERICA that "The landscape painting as such, hardly appears in American art before the end of the eighteenth century" it expressed a belief which has long been held by students of American painting. Portraits of colonial gentry, and their country cousins, still exist in gratifying numbers, but views of the homes in which they lived and the scenes which they looked upon, do not seem to have survived. This leads to the obvious conclusion that they were never painted in the first place. That this premise should now be revised has been indicated by James Thomas Flexner in his *First Flowers of Our Wilderness* in which he cites documentary sources which prove beyond a doubt that many types of non-portraits were painted, sold and owned in large numbers in colonial America. That the portraits rather than the landscapes have remained has probably been due to family pride. Thus the ancestors were retained in the attic long after the perishable quality of canvas and pigment had rendered them unwelcome as drawing room decorations, and had dictated the complete liquidation of the "scenes" in the domestic dump.

It is, however, one thing to find documentary evidence of landscape painting in eighteenth century America, and another to find a sufficient number of pictures to prove that they really existed. Otherwise they remain merely tantalizing references hidden in wills, inventories, and newspaper advertisements of the period. Recent research, however, has revealed enough pictures which parallel in general the historical evidence to indicate that simple landscapes by native craftsmen were being painted all up and down the Atlantic seaboard from the middle to the end of the eighteenth century. The demand for these "picture panels" steadily increased until by the early nineteenth century there must have been hundreds of homes so decorated throughout New England and the southern states.

While art students have been diligently searching the field for landscapes which might properly be attributed to America's "old masters," a goodly number of early views done by "coach, sign and fancy painters," in oil and tempera, on plaster walls, wooden panels, and home-stretched canvas, have

remained hidden away in country towns and in farmhouses in rural areas. These examples of provincial painting have not remained entirely unrecorded during the last twenty-five years. Photographs accompanied by short notices have appeared from time to time in historical society bulletins, in museum catalogues, and in antiques magazines, but almost without exception the pictures have been referred to as crude and clumsy examples of little artistic merit. The time has come, however, when they should be evaluated and should take their proper place in the study of American painting. Created to fill a given architectural space they evolved not from the academic but from the ornamental tradition, from the brush of the craftsman rather than of the artist. Nevertheless they cannot be excluded from the field of American landscape of which they form a valid if unrecognized part.

Although this article is chiefly concerned with views on over-mantel panels no consideration of Connecticut painting of the eighteenth century could be undertaken without mention of the work of Ralph Earl, who although born in Massachusetts in 1751, spent the greater part of his working years in Connecticut. Tradition avers that it was from his studio in New Haven, with his friend Amos Doolittle, that Earl set out on the trip which presumably resulted in his painting of *A View of the Town of Concord*, circa 1775, one of the few known contemporary Revolutionary battle scenes. In 1778 Earl sailed for England where he remained for seven years, studied with Benjamin West, and acquired some of the polish of the English school. On his return to America in 1785 he traveled in New York and the New England states, and died in Bolton, Connecticut, in 1801.

To deal at length with the glimpses of landscape which appear in many of our early portraits is a tempting digression. Many of the artists who followed the English tradition utilized this form of background. We are not concerned here, however, with the occasional use of the landscape motif unless, as in the case of Earl, it forms an important part of the total composition. Many of his figures are set against scenes which are not conventional backdrops visualized in the imagination of the artist. They are in reality actual vignettes of the surrounding countryside and as such deserve more than passing mention. Major Daniel Boardman, painted in 1789, appears to stand on a grassy hill while behind him stretches the fertile valley of the Housatonic River with church and buildings of New Milford in the distance. The portraits of Mrs. Joseph Wright and her daughter Mrs. Richard Alsop, afford, through an open window, glimpses of the broad Connecticut near their home in Middletown. The backgrounds of the por-

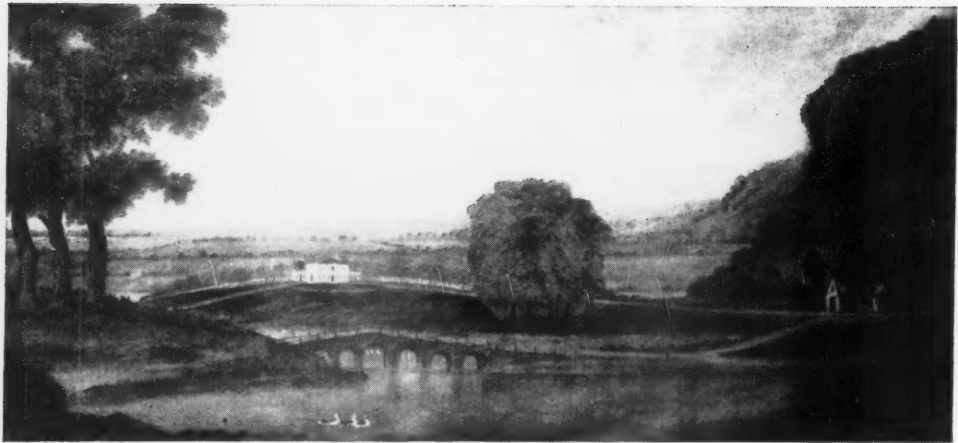


Fig. 1. LANDSCAPE NEAR SHARON, by RALPH EARL
Probably the home of Judge Canfield; painted circa 1796
Owned by the Litchfield Historical Society

traits of Huldah Bradley and her sister Lucy, when placed adjacent to one another, combine to show the meadows and shoreline near their home in Greenfield Hill, near Fairfield. Of particular architectural interest is the home of Chief Justice and Mrs. Oliver Ellsworth shown through a window in the background of their portrait. This fine house in the town of Windsor has been preserved and is now open to the public.

In view of the great interest which Earl obviously took in his scenic backgrounds it is not surprising that he also painted complete landscapes. In fact one feels that he must have done far more of these than have as yet come to light. Of the four views of the battle of Concord and Lexington, engraved and published by Amos Doolittle in 1775, from sketches made on the spot by Earl, only one original painting is known to exist today. (Illustrated in *Antiques*, September, 1935.) He is credited with painting a view of Bennington, Vermont, in 1798, and in 1800 he executed a view near Worcester, Massachusetts, in which the rolling hills and wooded countryside are very similar to those near Hartford which form the background of his portrait of Mrs. William Mosely and son, now owned by the Yale University Art Gallery. In Connecticut he painted at least two representations of "gentlemen's country seats." These delineations must have been in great demand judging from the advertisements for this type of picture which appeared as early as 1737. The *Landscape Near Sharon* is thought to portray the home of Judge Canfield whose family portraits Earl painted in 1796. (Fig. 1.) Another view near New Milford (illustrated in *ART IN AMERICA*, January, 1948) was long in possession of descendants of the

Boardman family, for whom he painted portraits of the brothers Daniel and Elijah in 1789.

Another artist who was painting landscapes in Connecticut during the Revolutionary period was Winthrop Chandler who was born in Woodstock in 1747 and died there in 1790. As far as we know he received no formal training, yet he turned his hand to any sort of decorative work, and there must have been many others like him whose names have now completely disappeared. Chandler designated himself as "limner" and executed portraits of his neighbors when opportunity offered, but his vocation is said to have been house painting. He also did illustrating, map making, carving and gilding, and for his relatives and friends he painted "landskips" in the prevailing fashion. Eight of these ascribed to Chandler by family tradition, and attributable to him on stylistic evidence, have been discovered to date. One is a framed picture on canvas, one a wooden fireboard, and six are over-mantel panels. Four each were painted in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

The Battle of Bunker Hill deserves a place in the annals of Connecticut painting of the Revolutionary period, and was originally a fireboard painted for Peter Chandler of Pomfret. (Fig. 2.) Obviously a somewhat inaccurate

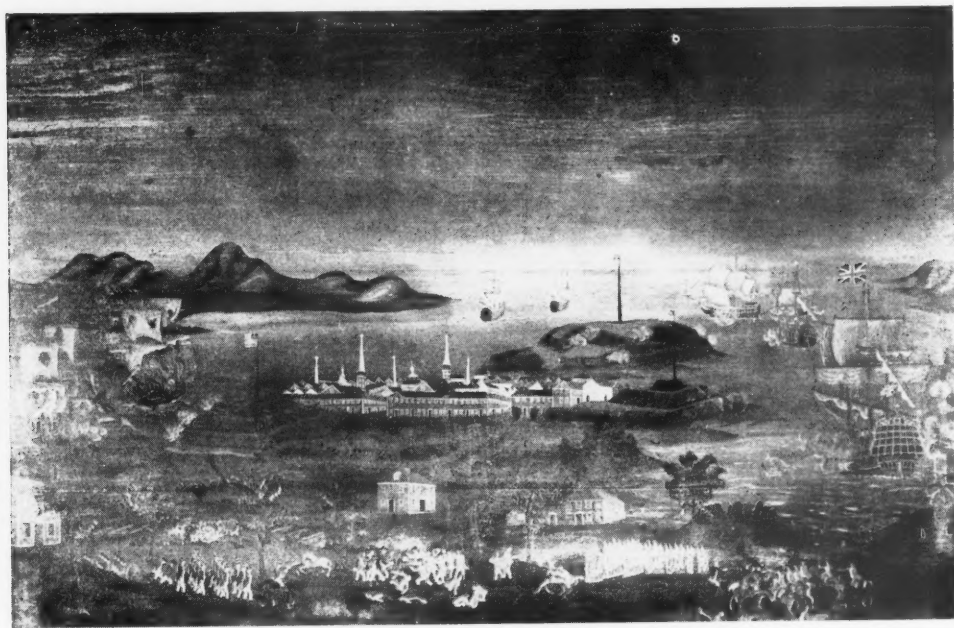


Fig. 2. BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL, by WINTHROP CHANDLER
Wooden fireboard from Pomfret. Believed to have been painted soon after the battle
Collection of Mrs. Herbert Bowen

version of the famous battle, it nevertheless appears to have some basis in fact and was probably painted from descriptions brought back by Connecticut troops, as there is no evidence to suggest that Chandler himself took any active part in the war. This scene shows the British regulars meeting the Continental foot troops in deadly combat. The field pieces mentioned in historical accounts are in action, and the six British ships belch smoke and flame. Over the fortifications fly three Grand Union flags, a combination of stripes representing the thirteen colonies, with the British Jack in the corner to signify the Crown. This unusual flag appears to have been in use only for a short period during 1776 and part of 1777. This picture ranks in importance with Earl's Battle of Concord, and a comparison of the drawing and details, combined with the similarity of approach to the subject matter, makes an interesting and provocative study of provincial painting of the time. Another battle scene depicted by Chandler in careful detail forms part of the background of the portrait of Captain Samuel Chandler of Woodstock, and shows an unidentified engagement in which the Captain is presumed to have taken part during his service with the 11th Company of Connecticut Militia. (Illustrated in *ART IN AMERICA*, April, 1947.)

From Canterbury comes the over-mantel panel in Fig. 3 which is typical of the fanciful landscapes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, although the formal arrangement of the curtains might suggest the latter date. All types of drapes appear frequently as background embellishments of colonial portraits, but I have never happened to see them used in conjunction with a landscape in this decorative manner.

In the vicinity of Pomfret was found the panel in Fig. 4 with its fleeing hare pursued by a fox and hound, in which one may see all the elements of design which usually appear in these compositions; the large trees to give depth to the perspective, the gayly painted houses and the winding stream. Almost always birds, animals and human figures are included to provide life and humor. Here is imagination, but not romanticism as we find it expressed in the work of the later Hudson River School. Glorifying the beauties of nature had not as yet entered the minds of these country painters, who from the very circumstances of their environment probably owed less to outside influences than did any previous or subsequent group of native-born artists. While I am convinced that these pictures for the most part were fanciful combinations of familiar elements, the resulting compositions were so convincingly factual that a hundred and fifty years later we are still trying to identify the spot where the artist stood. A particularly fine

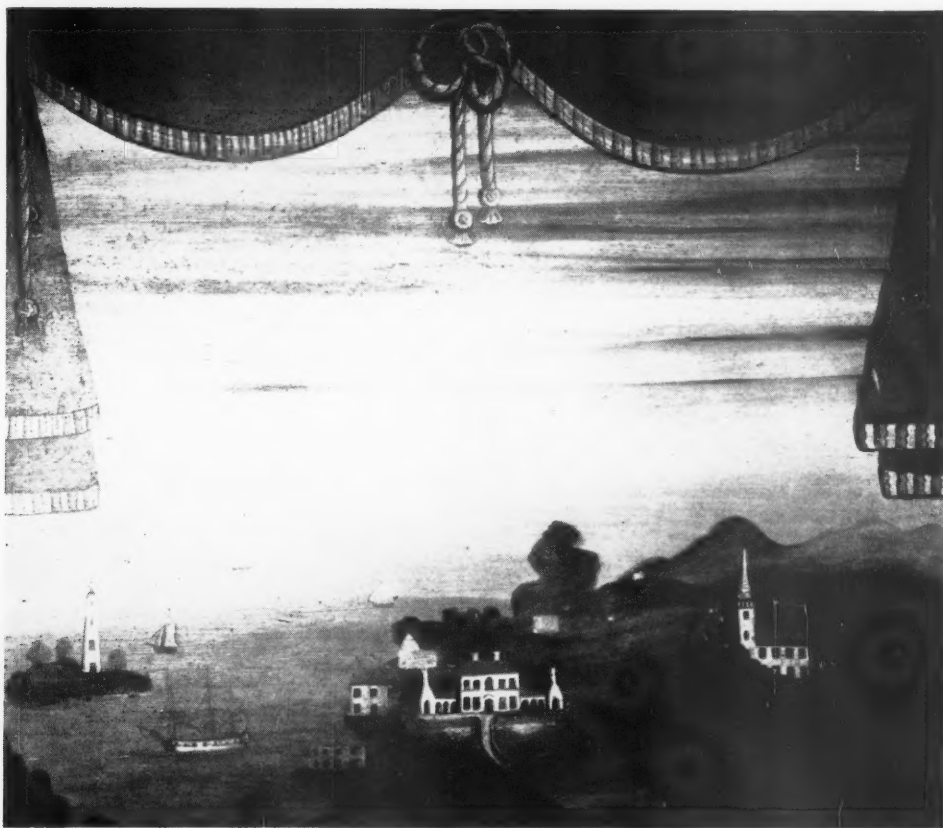


Fig. 3. PANEL FROM CANTERBURY. Artist unknown
Photograph courtesy of Frick Art Reference Library

panel from Suffield illustrates this point. (Fig. 5.) No-one who has traveled through the Connecticut Valley could fail to recognize the familiar contours of the fertile fields or the broad reaches of the river as it winds northward toward the Massachusetts border. Yet no-one in this vicinity has yet been able to recognize this particular bend in the river or definitely to identify the little island or the odd canopied boat in the foreground.

Because these panel pictures were an integral part of the room which contained them they were treated architecturally as part of the interior decoration, and an examination of upwards of seventy-five of them has not resulted in finding one which has been signed in any way. In one case only in Connecticut did a decorator leave his name and the date 1809 on the back of a closet door, and this fortunate circumstance has led to the identification of a group of landscape frescoes the author of which might otherwise have remained in perpetual obscurity. When the original paint colors

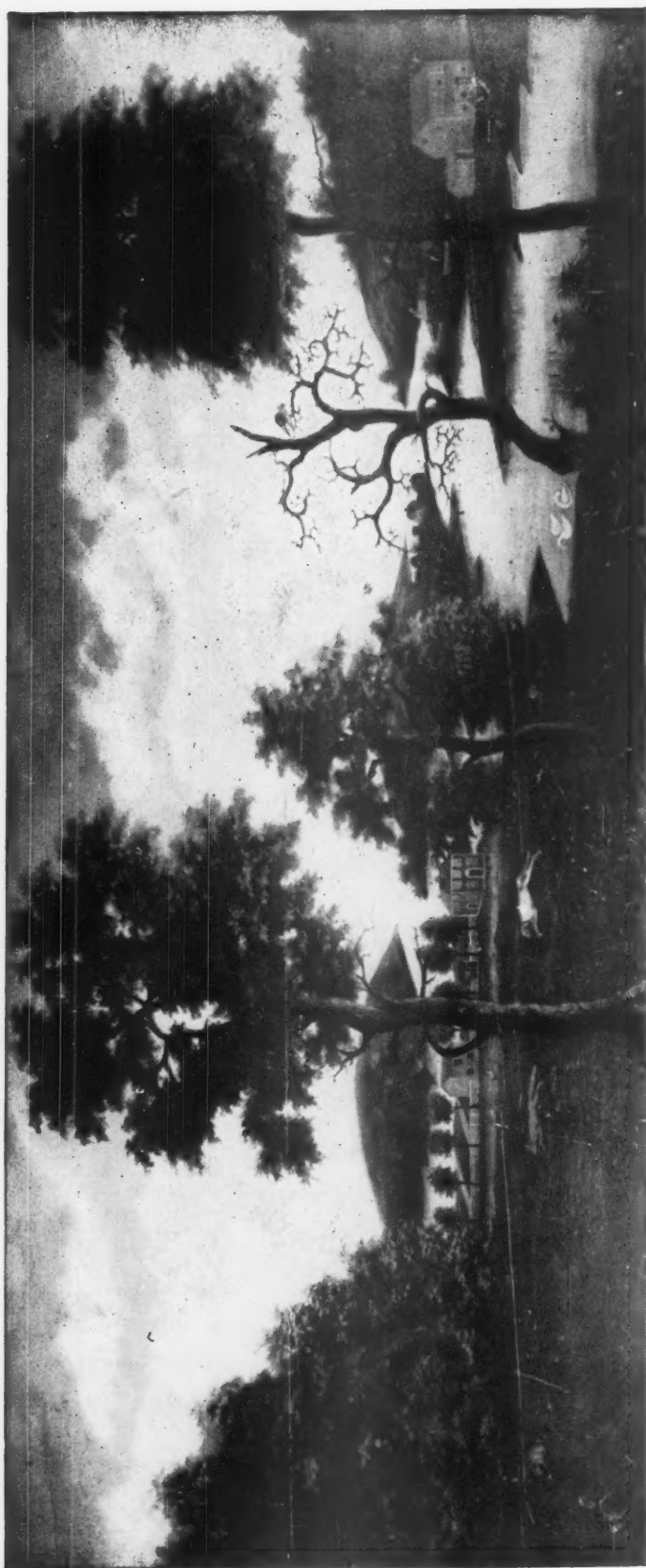


Fig. 4. OVER-MANTEL PANEL FROM VICINITY OF POMFRET
Attributed to Winthrop Chandler

Courtesy of Ben Grosvenor Inn, Pomfret, Connecticut

of the surrounding woodwork can be ascertained it is not uncommon to find graining and marbleizing to simulate cedar, mahogany, or stone.

Many of these decorators were itinerants who traveled far afield in an effort to earn a scant livelihood; room and board being sometimes their only recompense. By dint of close observation one may learn to recognize and relate the technique of different artists, and if one is fortunate one may follow the trail of their work from town to town. Sometimes a group of similar pictures will be found in one neighborhood such as in Brooklyn, Connecticut, where several panels have been recorded all apparently by the same man. On the other hand six pictures from one locality in Massachusetts appear to be the work of at least four different painters none of whom is at present identifiable by name. Another group of decorators traveled up the Connecticut River Valley during the early years of the nineteenth century, combining free-hand painted wall designs with over-mantel landscapes which are so similar in their arrangement and design that they can be recognized in the coastal towns and almost to the Vermont border.

There are, however, some unique examples of decorative landscapes which do not fall into any particular group. One such is in the Seth Wetmore house in Middletown, where it forms part of an extremely interesting painted room. The woodwork still retains its original eighteenth century mahogany



Fig. 5. VIEW OF THE CONNECTICUT RIVER NEAR SUFFIELD
Over-mantel panel by an unknown artist. Note the rising smoke from a distant fire
Photograph National Gallery of Art — Index of American Design

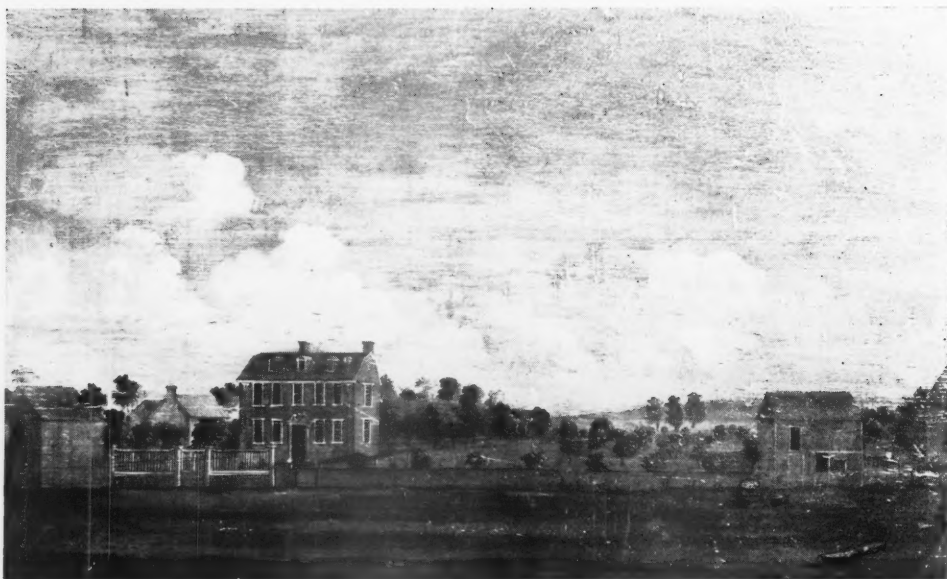


Fig. 6. VIEW IN FAIRFIELD. Over-mantel panel by an unknown artist
Owned by the Fairfield Historical Society

graining in a beautiful shade of dark cedar rose, combined with greyish-green marbleizing on fluted pilasters and shell top cupboard. Over the fireplace, framed in a bolection molding, is an Italian scene with ruins, quite evidently based on a classic source, and yet painted with such naivete that on seeing it one cannot doubt its American provincial origin. This type of view is, however, unusual. Harbor scenes such as one found recently in Deep River, or hunting pieces were more in favor, and the question often arises as to what extent they may have derived from contemporary engravings, many of which were being offered for sale at this period. Certain types of buildings and other incidental details have undoubtedly been introduced on occasion from sources which would appear to have been outside the knowledge of the average local painter, but I know of only one panel which is a copy of a printed original, although others unknown to me may exist. This picture in the Metropolitan Museum is incorporated in the paneling of a room from Pennsylvania and is taken from a plate in William Salmon's *Polygraphice or The Arts of Drawing, Painting, Engraving . . . etc.*, published in London in 1685.

The accurate dating of these over-mantels is another difficult problem, but it now seems fairly certain that their vogue lasted over a considerable period of time. Close to a dozen have turned up which from their subject

matter can be considered as pre-Revolutionary, while many others may well be equally early. A few, perhaps, on stylistic grounds should be placed as late as 1830. Judging, however, from the style of painting, and from the costumes (which are an excellent but not an infallible guide), the greater part of the panel landscapes probably fall between 1780 and 1810. Further research, which is far from completed on this subject, may revise this estimate, as scenic murals on plaster walls, heretofore thought to date between 1825 and 1840, have now been discovered mentioned in advertisements in Connecticut as early as the 1780s.

Another name which has been connected with at least one village scene is that of Sylvester Hall who was born in Wallingford in 1774. Local tradition attributes to him the panel which now hangs in the Cheshire Public Library and which is presumed to represent the green with the old Congregational Church and surrounding houses. Another panel of similar type is owned by the Fairfield Historical Society, and is said to depict a house in Fairfield which has now disappeared. (Fig. 6.) Like the one in Cheshire it is a charming and realistic view and one is tempted to believe that it was indeed a prospect of the owner's own home. Unfortunately its origin is unknown, the house cannot now be identified, and we are once more left in doubt as to its topographical accuracy. More of these overmantel landscapes will probably appear as old houses are investigated and carefully restored, but each one that is now preserved plays a small but significant part in the historical development of American painting.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

I refer to Dr. J. Hall Pleasants' illuminating article on the life and work of the hitherto little-known George William West in the January issue, and to the copy West made of Trumbull's miniature of Thomas Mifflin. I should like to amplify the latter.

Col. Trumbull arrived from London in November 1789 to collect "heads" and other data for his projected "national history" series. These "heads"—his finest work—were either drawn in pencil or painted in oil on mahogany, usually oval and $3\frac{5}{8}$ by 3 inches. He made two miniatures of Mifflin, one in 1790 at Philadelphia, head three-quarters to the right, signed and dated on the back, now in the Trumbull Collection at Yale, and a second, apparently executed at the same time and place, with the head slightly more full-faced. West used this version as Dr. Pleasants points out. It belonged to the late Ernest Lee Parker of Philadelphia, who died about ten years ago; was sold at auction at Freeman's at Philadelphia and has since disappeared. The writer, whose "tentative" check-list of the works of Col. Trumbull is appearing in the *Art Bulletin* (Sept. and Dec. 1948 and March 1949) would be glad to be informed of its present location.

THEODORE SIZER
Yale University

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.,

Required by the Acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933, of Art in America, published quarterly at Springfield, Mass., for October, 1949.

State of Massachusetts }
County of Hampden }

ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared John D. Pond, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Publisher and Manager of ART IN AMERICA and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, and business manager are:

Name of —
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2. That the owner is JULIA MUNSON SHERMAN, 255 Kings Highway, Westport, Conn.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

JOHN D. POND, Publisher, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 4th day of October, 1949.

HOWARD W. POND, Notary Public, Hampden County, Mass. (My commission expires Oct. 21, 1955.)

